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BELLA MARTIN.

WE give the following "owre true tale" from a highly-interesting book published last year by Messrs. Clarke, Beeton and Co., entitled *Uncle Tom at Home*. The author is F. C. Adams, Esq., many years a resident in Charleston (S. C.), where he enjoyed abundant opportunity of testing "slavery as it is." The work was originally penned as a *Review of the Reviewers and Repudiators of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and is one of the most interesting defences of Mrs. Stowe's work that it has been our privilege to read, chiefly on account of the mass of corroborative evidence it contains, in support of Mrs. Stowe's allegations against slavery, that evidence being founded on facts known to the writer. It required no inconsiderable share of moral courage in him, (the editor of one of the principal Southern newspapers,) boldly to attack those who had so grossly calumniated Mrs. Stowe. But we will not digress further.

Bella Martin lived in a little cabin at Walterboro', in the State of South Carolina, labouring at honest toil. According to *usage*, she became the wife of a mulatto man, and the issue was "a likely daughter," as she would be styled in slave-holding parlance. In the course of years, this daughter became the mistress of a certain Mr. Price, and their issue was three children, Benj. Price, Anna Price, and Eliza Price. The former grew to be a tip-top likely fellow, and the "gals" were extra fair to look upon. Hence, Bella was a grandmother. But, in the mean time, one Martin (a widower with three sons) stepped in, separated Bella from her mulatto lord, and took her unto himself; hence her name of Bella Martin. Price, the father of

the three children, "*died out*," and the mother died a premature death. At this juncture Bella and her grandchildren were the property of Mr. —, who threatened to sell them "off," unless Martin—who was a man of "property"—became a purchaser. Martin assented, paid the purchase-money, and received his bill of sale according to the conditions. Hence they were his for any purpose. Martin had children by Bella, but they all died at an early age. His sons by lawful wedlock became desperate characters, and attempted to squander his property in riotous living. He was compelled to restrain them, and finally abandon them to their dissolute fate. They made an attempt to get his property, upon the plea of their father's insanity, before a court of justice. Failing in this, they attempted to "*run off*" the children, but only succeeded in carrying off, beyond the limits of the State, one small child.

Martin died a friendless death; but anticipating the fate of Bella and her grandchildren, bequeathed them their freedom, which was set forth in his will, and also by papers which he *thought* to be in accordance with the law.

One Jones was the executor of Martin's "property," and, during his life, saw it righted; but he died, and his son-in-law, *Hudson*, succeeded him. Being an avaricious man, he began to make advances to get possession of the "property" for his own benefit and behoof. Bella, becoming aware of this, moved to Charleston neck, where she lived in want and misery several years. Martin's sons had also moved to Charleston, where one died a besotted inebriate, and the others became

miserable specimens of loathing nature. Another plot was propounded between them and Hudson to dispose of the three children, and, by flattering Bella, they induced her to become a third party, necessary to its success. This failed, and finally, one by one, the two sons and Bella died wretched inebriates, in a miserable hovel on "the neck."

The three children were now alone, acknowledged as free children. The girls worked at dress-making, and the boy was with a Mr. Johnson, who, with Mr. Hoppo, acted as the reputed guardians of the three. And here quiet prevailed for a time.

Incited by the love of gain, Hudson made his last grand attempt to put the value of the "property" in his pocket. He entered into a fiendish plot with one Bob Austin and Mr. Gilchrist, a "broker." A bill of sale, purporting to be from Bella Martin to Hudson, with the value of the three children, price paid, &c. &c., was the corner-stone of the plot. With this Gilchrist was to proceed, carriages and other means being at hand, and Bob Austin was to run them into a distant State. When there, he was to put them into the hands of another "broker," the correspondent of Gilchrist, who, with the specific understanding that existed among them, was to sign the bond necessary for their sale, and they would thus become slaves for life. While these papers were being arranged, a little yellow boy overheard the plot, and warned the children a few hours in advance of the officers. They, in turn, living on the alert of chance, knew the workhouse-keeper, Poulnot, for his kindness to them on former occasions, and fled to him for protection. He shut the doors of the prison upon them, as he would upon some harmless animal seeking its escape from the savage ferocity of wild beasts.

Here they remained fast, under the lock of the keeper of the prison, and were entered upon the calendar, by consent, as committed by Messrs. Hoppo and Johnson, "guardians." This was necessary, for they had no right to commit themselves, and the keeper would have been liable for the consequences unless sustained by responsible names.

Gilchrist, with Bob Austin and a *posse*, at noonday repaired to the residence of the "property," but it was gone. They followed it to the workhouse, and, producing the aforesaid bill of sale, demanded the "property" from the custody of the keeper, threatening him with imprisonment if he refused. Poulnot, honour to his name, for it will stand as a lasting record of firmness in behalf of humanity, refused to give them up, daring them to attempt a rescue! He was persecuted, a suit instituted by the Hudson party, and another demand made, with papers and *satisfactory* certificates; but he held on as firmly as ever, refusing to give them up until

the case should be decided by the Court. One *Northrop* appeared as attorney for the *wreckers*, and after a shameful display of legal rascality, demanded them, papers in hand, for the *pirates*.

The possession of the "property" was now turned into a piratical chase, in which several united their *honest energies*. In addition to Northrop, one *Tupper* appeared as attorney for a Mrs. Price, who claimed them by a singular technicality of relationship with the father. And finally, to cap the climax, *Ford*, the escheator of the State, interposed his claim on behalf of the State, demanding that these poor victims be sold on behalf of his sovereign client. Here they were, in prison, awaiting the sitting of that court which was to decide a question, which to them was liberty or death.

After a long history of dark villany, which we cannot recount here, Anna died in *child-birth*, alone, and within the narrow confines of a dark cell, presenting the appearance of a ghastly corpse to the turnkey who opened the cell in the morning. At this juncture, the "generous-hearted" Magrath, a gentleman who has honoured his city, if his city has never honoured him in proportion, came forward as their attorney, and the case was brought before the Court of Sessions in Charleston, October Term, 1844, Judge Withers presiding. The evidence elicited, the mendacity of the slave-dealers, the statement of the prison-keeper, the appearance of the children before the Court, and the eloquent and feeling appeal of Magrath in behalf of their freedom, would form a subject fraught with more miseries than Mrs. Stowe's book has set forth.

This case excited some interest at the time, and called forth a redundancy of legal quibbling that would have disgraced the name of honour in a pirate's profession.

The characters of Austin and Gilchrist were exposed, their testimony was impeached, and the bill of sale, purporting to be from Bella Martin to Hudson, and in the *hand-writing of Austin*, by a singular incident shewn to be a forgery. It was further shewn that Hudson had attempted to sell them before, and that Mrs. Price's claim was invalid, she not being akin to the father of the children; and yet Martin's will, which must have transcended to Hudson, could not be found.

The jury, after mature deliberation, rendered their *conclusion*, that, although the children had produced no proof to assert their freedom, they were not the "property" of the claimants, *Hudson* and *Price*, and remanded them back to the custody of the prison-keeper and their guardians. Thus the question of life and liberty was now between them and the sovereign State; and it remained for Mr. Ford to bring his suit upon

another ground, in order to throw the amount of testimony upon the children.

Poulnot was on the alert, and having no order from court, delivered the "property" to its guardians before the escheator had time to levy.

The boy was disguised, and ushered out of the State as quickly as possible, and now lives a respectable citizen in a Northern city. The girl had become connected with a young German, who was as much attached to her as if she was his lawful wife, and would not consent to her leaving the State, but kept her locked up in his house, promising to defend her at the issue of life and death.

But the mendacity of the negro traders did not end here. Soon after the decision of the jury, and in the face of the court, an attempt was made to wrest them from the custody of the officers, and run them off. This being frustrated by a summary process, we must trace the victim, Eliza Price, to her friend Ashe's house, where she remained under his lock and protection for nearly three years, and dared not go into the street, lest she should fall into the hands of the officers whom the escheator had placed to arrest her. How is this? the reader will ask. The "Carolinian" will tell you how necessary it is for the benefit of the slave.

It is by one of those strange acts made to despoil the power of a majority, and crush a few "free coloured" while aiming to protect the white population. By the Act of the legislature of 1821, the power of emanumition, which formerly existed in a board of judicial magistrates, reverted to a committee of the House, so burdened with provisions as to render it almost impossible for a majority of masters to manumit their slaves, if they felt disposed, unless they sent them immediately out of the State; the principal features of the provisions being the deposit of a heavy collateral fund, and enormous bonds for the good behaviour of the "property"—that it will not become a town charge, &c. &c. In default of this, the State renders the "property" subject to *escheate*, and the slave is sold on its behalf without any reserve for its condition in the hands of subsequent owners.

These children were born slaves by inheritance of the mother, and had not proved their freedom, nor had Martin, by his will, conformed to the requirements of the statutes. Hence it became the escheator to get his fees, and look after the State's interest: and thus the action. Three years she remained in durance under the protection of Mr. Ashe, when, on the 22d day of October 1852, during his absence from home under an impression that the matter had ended, the officers broke into his house, dragged Eliza and her young child off, captives of the law, and committed them to the custody of the workhouse keeper, there to await an order of

sale from the Court. She could not prove her freedom, for she was deprived of the means; so we shall await the issue between this poor, last remnant of fortune's misfortunes and the State's pride.

We say to the world, these are the truths of Mrs. Stowe's book, staring us in the face; and before a pen against them is raised, come with us to that municipal slave-pen, "the workhouse," with its four hundred pens, to measure the square inches of human length and breadth; and in one of these cold cloisters, on the second floor, you will find Eliza Price and her child. Her cell is seven by four feet, or nearly, and if you cannot get *into it*, call her to the door, sit down by her, ask why she was put in there instead of the jail, study the point of law it was intended to evade, and listen to the story of her wretched life. Imagine it just as full of poetry as if it came from white lips, for her soul is *white*, and her lips are nearly so; then give her that assistance which it behoves a good Samaritan, or she will be sold into slavery for the benefit of the State."

COLOURED NATIONAL CONVENTION.

IN our number for November last we published two documents relating to a *Coloured National Convention* held at Rochester, State of New York, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th July ultimo. Want of space has since prevented our reverting to the subject, which has lost none of its interest, and is worthy of being kept constantly before those who are interested in the social progress of the coloured population in the Free States. Just previously to Mrs. H. B. Stowe's departure for Europe, and in compliance with an expressed desire on the part of this distinguished lady, Frederick Douglass addressed to her a letter on the condition of the coloured population of the Free States, containing, moreover, a few suggestions as to the best way in which they might be assisted in their struggle to achieve for themselves the position they are denied, though fully entitled to. We now submit that letter, which, we may add, was read by Frederick Douglass himself to the Convention, on the occasion above referred to. It is worthy of attentive consideration, and we believe presents an unexaggerated picture of the position of the people of colour in the Free States.

"Rochester, March 8, 1853.

"MY DEAR MRS. STOWE—You kindly informed me, when at your house, a fortnight ago, that you designed to do something which should permanently contribute to the improvement and elevation of the free coloured people in the United States. You especially expressed an interest in such of this class as had become free by their own exertions, and desired most of all to be of service to them. In what manner, and by what means, you can assist this class most successfully, is the

subject upon which you have done me the honour to ask my opinion.

" Begging you to excuse the unavoidable delay, I will now most gladly comply with your request; but, before doing so, I desire to express, dear Madam, my deep sense of the value of the services which you have already rendered my afflicted and persecuted people, by the publication of your inimitable book on the subject of slavery. That contribution to our bleeding cause, alone, involves us in a debt of gratitude which cannot be measured; and your resolution to make other exertions on our behalf excites in me emotions and sentiments, which I scarcely need try to give forth in words. Suffice it to say, that I believe you to have the blessings of your enslaved countrymen and countrywomen; and the still higher reward which comes to the soul in the smiles of our merciful heavenly father, whose ear is ever open to the cries of the oppressed.

" With such sentiments, dear Madam, I will at once proceed to lay before you, in as few words as the nature of the case will allow, my humble views in the premises. First of all, let me briefly state the nature of the disease, before I undertake to prescribe the remedy. Three things are notoriously true of us as a people. These are, **POVERTY, IGNORANCE, and DEGRADATION.** Of course there are exceptions to this general statement; but these are so few as only to prove its essential truthfulness. I shall not stop here to inquire minutely into the causes which have produced our present condition, nor to denounce those whom I believe to be responsible for those causes. It is enough that we shall agree upon the character of the evil whose existence we deplore, and upon some plan for its removal.

" I assert, that *poverty, ignorance, and degradation* are the combined evils; or, in other words, these constitute the social disease of the free coloured people in the United States.

" To deliver them from this triple malady, is to improve and elevate them, by which I mean simply to put them on an equal footing with their white fellow-countrymen in the sacred right to *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.* I am for no fancied or artificial elevation, but only ask fair play. How shall this be obtained? I answer, first, not by establishing for our use high schools and colleges. Such institutions are, in my judgment, beyond our immediate occasions, and are not adapted to our present most pressing wants. High schools and colleges are excellent institutions, and will, in due season, be greatly subservient to our progress; but they are the result, as well as they are the demand, of a point of progress, which we, as a people, have not yet attained. Accustomed, as we have been, to the rougher and harder modes of living, and of gaining a livelihood, we cannot, and we ought not, to hope that, in a single leap from our low condition, we can reach that of *ministers, lawyers, doctors, editors, merchants, &c.* These will, doubtless, be attained by us; but this will only be when we have patiently and laboriously, and I may add, successfully, mastered and passed through the intermediate gradations of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Besides, there are—and perhaps this is a better reason for my view of the case—numerous institutions of learning in this country,

already thrown open to coloured youth. To my thinking, there are quite as many facilities now afforded to the coloured people as they can spare the time, from the sterner duties of life, to avail themselves of. In their present condition of poverty, they cannot spare their sons and daughters two or three years at boarding-schools or colleges, to say nothing of finding the means to sustain them while at such institutions. I take it, therefore, that we are well provided for in this respect; and that it may be fairly inferred from the past that the facilities for our education, so far as schools and colleges in the Free States are concerned, will increase quite in proportion with our future wants. Colleges have been open to coloured youth in this country during the last dozen years. Yet few, comparatively, have acquired a classical education; and even this few have found themselves educated far above a living condition, there being no methods by which they could turn their learning to account. Several of this latter class have entered the ministry; but you need not be told that an educated people is needed to sustain an educated ministry. There must be a certain amount of cultivation among the people to sustain such a ministry. At present we have not that cultivation amongst us; and therefore we value in the preacher strong lungs, rather than high learning. I do not say that educated ministers are not needed amongst us. Far from it! I wish there were more of them; but to increase their number is *not* the largest benefit you can bestow upon us.

" You, dear Madam, can help the masses. You can do something for the thousands; and, by lifting these from the depths of poverty and ignorance, you can make an educated ministry and an educated class possible. In the present circumstances, prejudice is a bar to the educated black minister among the whites, and ignorance is a bar to him among the blacks.

" We have now two or three coloured lawyers in this country; and I rejoice in the fact, for it affords very gratifying evidence of our progress. Yet it must be confessed, that, in point of success, our lawyers are as great failures as are our ministers. White people will not employ them to the obvious embarrassment of their causes; and the blacks, taking their *cue* from the whites, have not sufficient confidence in their abilities to employ them. Hence, educated coloured men, among the coloured people, are at a very great discount. It would seem that education and emigration go together with us; for as soon as a man rises amongst us, capable, by his genius and learning, to do us great service, just so soon he finds that he can serve himself better by going elsewhere. In proof of this, I might instance the Russwurns, the Garnetts, the Wards, the Crummells, and others, all men of superior ability and attainments, and capable of removing mountains of prejudice against their race by their simple presence in the country; but these gentlemen, finding themselves embarrassed here by the peculiar disadvantages to which I have referred—disadvantages in part growing out of their education—being repelled by ignorance on the one hand, and prejudice on the other, and having no taste to continue a contest against such odds, they have sought more congenial climes, where

they can live more peaceable and quiet lives. I regret their election, but I cannot blame them; for, with an equal amount of education, and the hard lot which was theirs, I might follow their example.

"But, again, it has been said that the coloured people must become farmers—that they must go on the land, in order to their elevation. Hence, many benevolent people are contributing the necessary funds to purchase land in Canada, and elsewhere, for them. That prince of good men, Gerrit Smith, has given away thousands of acres to coloured men in this State, thinking, doubtless, that in so doing he was conferring a blessing upon them. Now, while I do not undervalue the efforts which have been made, and are still being made, in this direction, yet I must say that I have far less confidence in such efforts than I have in the benevolence which prompts them. Agricultural pursuits are not, as I think, suited to our condition. The reason of this is not to be found so much in the occupation (for it is a noble and ennobling one), as in the people themselves. That is only a remedy which can be applied to the case; and the difficulty in agricultural pursuits, as a remedy for the evils of poverty and ignorance amongst us, is, that it cannot, for various reasons, be applied.

"We cannot apply it, because it is almost impossible to get coloured men to go on the land. From some cause or other (perhaps the adage, that misery loves company, will explain), coloured people will congregate in the large towns and cities, and they will endure any amount of hardship and privation, rather than separate and go into the country. Again, very few have the means to set up for themselves, or to get where they could do so.

"Another consideration against expending energy in this direction is our want of self-reliance. Slavery, more than all things else, robs its victims of self-reliance. To go into the western wilderness, and there to lay the foundation of future society, requires more of that important quality than a life of slavery has left us. This may sound strange to you, coming, as it does, from a coloured man; but I am dealing with facts, and these never accommodate themselves to the feelings or wishes of any. They don't *ask*, but *take leave to be*. It is a fact, then, and not less so because I wish it were otherwise, that the coloured people are wanting in self-reliance—too fond of society—too eager for immediate results—and too little skilled in mechanics or husbandry to attempt to overcome the wilderness; at least, until they have overcome obstacles less formidable. Therefore, I look to other means than agricultural pursuits for the elevation and improvement of coloured people. Of course, I allege this of the many. There are exceptions. Individuals among us, with commendable zeal, industry, perseverance, and self-reliance, have found, and are finding, in agricultural pursuits, the means of supporting, improving, and educating their families.

"The plan which I contemplate will, if carried into effect, greatly increase the number of this class, since it will prepare others to meet the rugged duties which a pioneer agricultural condition must impose upon all who take it upon them.

What I propose is intended simply to prepare men for the work of getting an honest living—not out of dishonest men, but out of an honest earth.

"Again, there is little reason to hope that any considerable number of the free coloured people will ever be induced to leave this country, even if such a thing were desirable. The black man (*un*-like the Indian) loves civilization. He does not make very great progress in civilization himself, but he likes to be in the midst of it, and prefers to share its most galling evils, to encountering barbarism. Then the love of country—the dread of isolation—the lack of adventurous spirit—and the thought of seeming to desert their 'brethren in bonds,' are a powerful and perpetual check upon all schemes of colonization, which look to the removal of the coloured people, without the slaves. The truth is, dear Madam, we are *here*, and here we are likely to remain. Individuals emigrate—nations never. We have grown up with this Republic; and I see nothing in our character, or even in the character of the American people, as yet, which compels the belief that we must leave the United States. If, then, we are to remain here, the question for the wise and good is precisely that you have submitted to me—and that which I fear I have been, perhaps, too slow in answering—namely, What can be done to improve the condition of the free coloured people in the United States? The plan which I humbly submit in answer to this inquiry, (and in the hope that it may find favour with you, dear Madam, and with the many friends of humanity who honour, love, and co-operate with you,) is the establishment in Rochester, N. Y., or in some other part of the United States equally favourable to such an enterprise, of an INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE, in which shall be taught several important branches of the mechanic arts; this college to be open to coloured youth. I will pass over, for the present, the details of such an institution as that I propose. It is not worth while that I should dwell upon these at all. Once convinced that something of the sort is needed, and the organizing power will be forthcoming. It is the peculiarity of your favoured race that they can always do what they think necessary to be done. I can safely trust all details to yourself, and to the wise and good people whom you represent in the interest you take in my oppressed fellow-countrymen.

"Never having myself had a day's schooling in all my life, I may not be expected to be able to map out the details of a plan so comprehensive as that involved in the idea of a college. I repeat, then, I leave the organization and administration to the superior wisdom of yourself and the friends that second your noble efforts. The argument in favour of an Industrial College, (a college to be conducted by the best men and the best workmen which the mechanic arts can afford—a college where coloured youth can be instructed to use their hands as well as their heads—where they can be put in possession of the means of getting a living—whether their lot in after life may be cast among civilized or uncivilized men—whether they choose to stay here, or prefer to return to the land of their fathers,) is briefly this—prejudice against the free coloured people in the United States has shewn itself nowhere so invin-

cible as among mechanics. The farmer and the professional man cherish no feeling so bitter as that cherished by these. The latter would starve us out of the country entirely. At this moment I can more easily get my son into a lawyer's office, to study law, than I can into a blacksmith's shop, to blow the bellows and to wield the sledge-hammer. Denied the means of learning useful trades, we are pressed into the narrowest limits to obtain a livelihood. In times past we have been the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for American society, and we once enjoyed a monopoly in menial employments; but this is no longer; even these employments are rapidly passing away out of our hands. The fact is (every day begins with the lesson and ends with the lesson), that coloured men must learn trades—must find new employments, new modes of usefulness to society, or that they must decay under the pressing wants to which their condition is rapidly bringing them. We must become mechanics—we must build, as well as live, in houses—we must make, as well as use, furniture—we must construct bridges, as well as pass over them—before we can properly live, or be respected by our fellow-men. We need mechanics, as well as ministers. We need workers in iron, wood, clay, and in leather. We have orators, authors, and other professional men; but these reach only a certain class, and get respect for our race in certain select circles. To live here as we ought, we must fasten ourselves to our countrymen through their every-day and cardinal wants. We must not only be able to *black* boots, but to *make* them. At present, we are unknown in the Northern States as mechanics. We give no proof of genius or skill at the county, the state, or the national fairs. We are unknown at any of the great exhibitions of the industry of our fellow-citizens; and, being unknown, we are unconsidered.

"The fact that we make no show of our ability is held conclusive of our inability to make any. Hence, all the indifference and contempt with which incapacity is regarded fall upon us, and that, too, when we have had no means of disproving the injurious opinion of our natural inferiority. I have, during the last dozen years, denied, before the Americans, that we are an inferior race. But this has been done by arguments based upon admitted principles, rather than by the presentation of facts. Now, firmly believing, as I do, that there are skill, invention, power, industry, and real mechanical genius among the coloured people, which will bear favourable testimony for them, and which only need the means to develop them, I am decidedly in favour of the establishment of such a college as I have mentioned. The benefits of such an institution would not be confined to the Northern States, nor to the free coloured people: they would extend over the whole Union. The slave, not less than the freeman, would be benefited by such an institution. It must be confessed that the most powerful argument now used by the Southern slaveholder—and the one most soothing to his conscience—is that derived from the low condition of the free coloured people at the North. I have long felt that too little attention has been given, by our truest friends in this country, to removing this stum-

bling-block out of the way of the slave's liberation.

"The most telling, the most killing refutation of slavery, is the presentation of an industrious, enterprising, upright, thrifty, and intelligent free black population. Such a population, I believe, would rise in the Northern States, under the fostering care of such a college as that supposed.

"To shew that we are capable of becoming mechanics, I might adduce any amount of testimony; but, dear Madam, I need not ring the changes on such a proposition. There is no question in the mind of any unprejudiced person that the negro is capable of making a good mechanic. Indeed, even those who cherish the bitterest feelings towards us have admitted that the apprehension that negroes might be employed in their stead dictated the policy of excluding them from trades altogether; but I will not dwell upon this point, as I fear I have already trespassed too long upon your precious time, and written more than I ought to expect you to read. Allow me to say, in conclusion, that I believe every intelligent coloured man in America will approve and rejoice at the establishment of some such institution as that now suggested. There are many respectable coloured men, fathers of large families, having boys nearly grown up, whose minds are tossed by day and by night with the anxious inquiry, What shall I do with my boys? Such an institution would meet the wants of such persons. Then, too, the establishment of such an institution would be in character with the eminently practical philanthropy of your transatlantic friends. America could scarcely object to it, as an attempt to agitate the public mind on the subject of slavery, or to "*dissolve the Union*." It could not be tortured into a cause for hard words by the American people; but the noble and good of all classes would see in the effort an excellent motive, a benevolent object, temperately, wisely, and practically manifested.

"Wishing you, dear Madam, renewed health, a pleasant passage, and safe return to your native land,

"I am, most truly, your grateful friend,

"FREDERICK DOUGLASS."

"Mrs. H. B. Stowe."

AMERICAN ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

THE Twentieth Anniversary of the formation of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* was celebrated by a General Meeting of the members and friends of the Society, held in Philadelphia, on the 3d of December ult. The Meeting took place in the Sansom Street Hall, under the presidency of its founder, W. Lloyd Garrison, Esq. After the nomination of the various officers, and of the Committees, for the business of the Meeting, the President delivered his opening address, and several letters were read from absentees, amongst which were the Hon. Gerritt Smith, Cassius M. Clay, Esq., of Kentucky, &c. The Rev. S. J. May of Syracuse then read the

following *Declaration of Sentiments*, issued by the Society at its organization in December 1838.

"The Convention assembled in the City of Philadelphia, to organize a *National Anti-Slavery Society*, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

"More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the TEMPLE OF FREEDOM was broadly this—'that all men are created equal; and they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.' At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that TRUTH, JUSTICE, and RIGHT, were on their side, made them invincible.

"We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs as moral truth does physical force.

"In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in stedfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

"Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling-down of strongholds.

"Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

"Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

"But those for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting, at the present time, at least one-sixth part of our countrymen—are recognised by the law, and treated by their fellow-beings as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoying no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages

upon their persons, are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

"These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slave-holding States.

"Hence we maintain,—that, in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore,

"That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

"We further maintain,—that no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

"The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—the products of his own labour—to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an AMERICAN as an AFRICAN.

"Therefore we believe and affirm,—That there is no difference in principle between the African slave-trade and American slavery:

"That every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, according to Scripture (Ex. xxi. 16), a MAN STEALER:

"That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of the law:

"That if they lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity:

"That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

"We further believe and affirm,—that all persons of colour who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

"We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating the slave ;

"Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle that man cannot hold property in man ;

"Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD ;

"Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim ; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owners ; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself ;

"Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property ; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves ; but, by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free labourers ; and

"Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

"We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation, which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

"We fully and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits ; we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject :

"But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

"We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States ; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves ; they authorise the slave-owner to vote on three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression ; they support a standing army at the South for its protection ; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger : IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

"These are our views and principles : these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine revelation as upon the Everlasting Rock.

"We shall organize Anti-slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village, in our land.

"We shall send forth agents to lift up the

voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and rebuke.

"We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

"We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

"We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

"We shall encourage the labour of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions ; and

"We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

"Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

"Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it ; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the coloured population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans, come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation ; whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE, and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

"Done at Philadelphia, the 6th day of December A.D. 1853."

The proceedings lasted three days, during which the meeting was addressed by the leading members of the Society, and by orators, male and female, from various States, but we have only space to note two incidents. The first was the rising of the Rev. S. J. May, to contradict the truth of a statement which had appeared in the anti-slavery and other journals, to the effect that all the members of the *Unitarian Society* in St. Louis, Missouri, had emancipated their slaves. The fact was denied on the authority of the Rev. W. G. Eliot, pastor of the Society, in a letter to the *Christian Register* at Boston. Mr. May expressed the sorrow and shame he felt in being obliged to make this statement in correction of a report which had afforded the highest pleasure to himself and many others.

The other point worthy of notice was, that Mrs. Lucretia Mott urged attention to that portion of the Declaration of Sentiments relating to the giving of a preference to the products of *free-labour* over those of slave-labour, and also begged the friends to consider whether they did not compromise their principles by aiding in the purchase of individual slaves, thereby enabling the slave-

holder perhaps to buy two fresh slaves in the place of the one sold.

The Meeting is stated to have been a highly successful one.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This Society, which, though it does not hold many public meetings, is doing, in its own quiet way, a great anti-slavery work, has recently issued a Circular addressed to the editors of newspapers, requesting them to insert the same in their columns, for the promotion of the cause of freedom. We feel assured that every friend of the cause will recognise the importance of the new efforts which the Circular suggests.

"CIRCULAR, PROPOSING A NEW PLAN OR EFFORT FOR EXTENDING AND INCREASING THE POWER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS.

"To the Friends of the Enslaved:

"Allow us to call your attention to the importance of a more systematic and extended effort than has yet been put forth for the circulation of

"ANTI-SLAVERY LITERATURE,

"In the varied forms of Periodicals, Books, Pamphlets, Tracts, Handbills, and Prints or Engravings.

"PERIODICALS.—Newspapers, either daily, weekly, semi-monthly, monthly, or quarterly, are needed, to keep the community apprised of PASSING EVENTS connected with the interests of freedom. No Abolitionist, however well informed to-day, can be otherwise than ill informed a year hence, unless he keep himself well 'posted up' by the constant perusal of anti-slavery periodicals. DAILY PAPERS should be sustained in all our principal cities. WEEKLY papers should be taken by every Abolitionist who does not take a daily one, and by every intelligent citizen who can be induced to subscribe. Whatever may be said of anti-slavery movements and measures, they are becoming too important an element of society not to be studied and understood by all who would not be ignorant of the times in which they live. Files of anti-slavery papers should be preserved for reference, and as containing most important materials for history.

"In connection with the publication of these papers, and with the use of the same types, smaller monthly or semi-monthly papers may be published for extended circulation among those who do not take the larger sheet, and may be furnished cheap, either to individual subscribers, to clubs, or to societies of individuals purchasing them for distribution, as tracts, yet containing more or less news. The 'FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE,' issued monthly by the Editor of the *National Era*, Washington City, is a specimen of this use of the press too important to be overlooked, and requiring of itself systematic associated effort, throughout the free States, to give it its full effect.

"2. BOOKS.—But the mere perusal of the best anti-slavery journals cannot be a substitute for anti-slavery books, containing important information which newspapers cannot be expected to contain, and in a form more convenient for preservation, use, and reference, when wanted.

Journals are occupied in recording the passing news of the day. Books are needed to keep in remembrance *the past*. Much historical information that every Abolitionist needs, and that the community needs, can be found only in books. Few people preserve their newspapers as they should do for any long time, and some of those who do have little leisure to pick out of them the information they need concerning what happened years ago. But records of the most important events are preserved in Books. STATISTICAL information, discussions of first principles, elaborate arguments, dissertations, slave legislation, and the facts of slavery, important narratives, &c., are chiefly to be found in books or large pamphlets. No individuals and no communities can be well informed on the subjects of slavery and abolition without a good supply and a diligent use of well-written books. Systematic local effort is needed, to secure so desirable an object.

"3. PAMPHLETS, of different sizes, fill an intermediate space between books and tracts, technically so called. To some extent they may be of a character similar to books, containing brief narratives, condensed arguments, essays, &c. But PAMPHLETS are chiefly needed for local or temporary objects—to meet a peculiar state of things that may or may not continue to exist. Controversies, debates, speeches in Congress and elsewhere, minutes of important Conventions, with their Resolutions and Addresses, Annual Reports of Societies and Executive Committees, &c., are conveniently circulated in pamphlets, and a judicious and discriminating selection and use of them are highly important. This should be included in plans of efforts for wielding the press.

"4. TRACTS, a smaller description of pamphlets, are chiefly needed for gratuitous circulation in the community, at the expense of Abolitionists, in their several localities. These are very important, as pioneers, and by a proper distribution of them, and at a comparatively small expense, great numbers of persons may be instructed in the elementary facts and principles of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, who could never in any other way be reached.

"The Reform Book and Tract Society, Cincinnati (E. Stearns, Agent) has commenced the publication of a series of tracts, including, prominently, the subject of slavery.

"An Association at Syracuse, New York, has also issued several Anti-Slavery tracts, and intends to issue more (Ovid Miner is the agent, Syracuse.)

"Associated local efforts for wielding the press, would give efficiency to operations like these.

"5. HANDBILLS, Prints, or Engravings, which readily meet the eye, are also of no small value in arresting attention, and in impressing Anti-Slavery truth upon the minds of both the old and the young. These may also be included in the plan.

"All these varied forms of Anti-Slavery Literature are essential to the healthful and steady progress of the cause. They are needed by Abolitionists themselves, not only as instruments of accomplishment, but for their own guidance and encouragement.

"They are needed, in addition to all that can be done by lecturers and public speakers of every

class. It is not sufficient to rouse and excite men. They must be instructed and guided. In a reading community, THE PRESS must be employed in this work. And nothing permanent and reliable can be expected without a familiar acquaintance with anti-slavery periodicals, pamphlets, and books. It is only by INTELLIGENT, WELL-INSTRUCTED Abolitionists, that the work can be done. It is only in *their* hands that the cause can be *safe*.

"And it is almost in vain that suitable publications are *provided*, unless they are extensively *circulated* and *read*. The cost of printing *small* quantities is almost as great as that of printing much larger quantities. There is a great loss of expenditure in publishing for only a few readers. *The enterprise of giving to books, tracts, and periodicals, a wide circulation, must devolve on the friends of the cause throughout the country.* This can be prosecuted in various ways.

I. THE COLPORTEUR'S SYSTEM.

"Let the friends of the cause in each county secure the services of some trusty and efficient Abolitionist to act as a Colporteur for the county—to visit every town, village, and neighbourhood (perhaps in general every family) in the county, to converse with the people, to sell or give away cheap Tracts, (leaving no family without something to read,) to *SELL* as many cheap books and pamphlets as possible, and obtain subscribers for anti-slavery periodicals. The commissions allowed by publishers of papers on moneys received, and the profits on books sold, will go far towards sustaining the Colporteur, and the balance, by agreement, can be paid him by the friends of the cause in the county who employ him. On going over the county the first time, comparatively little money may, perhaps, be raised; but the good seed thus sown, by giving away tracts, and stimulating an interest for books, pamphlets, and papers, will be likely to yield a crop of receipts and profits on going over the ground the second and third time. *The personal influence* of a good, judicious Colporteur, will soon be productive of much good, and increase his ability of doing more. He should be active, prompt, ready, intelligent, with a good knowledge of human nature, courteous, and able to *'speak the truth in love.'*

II. VOLUNTARY TRAVELLING.

"Where no funds can be raised to sustain a Colporteur, a Voluntary Travelling Agent, *having a talent to sell books*, may sustain himself comfortably, by selecting the best regions, and visiting the most intelligent and progressive class of the citizens. He cannot commonly afford the time to distribute tracts in the outskirts of towns and remote districts. But he may often put tracts into the hands of earnest Abolitionists, to distribute. [Colporteurs may sometimes do the same, and thus make more rapid progress.]

"Both the Colporteur and the Voluntary Agent may sometimes promote the cause, and forward their operations, by collecting together groups of neighbours in District School-houses, and spreading before them his objects.

III. THE LIBRARY SYSTEM.

"Where no Colporteur can be obtained, and no Voluntary Agent is labouring, a few neigh-

bours may provide for the immediate wants of their own neighbourhood, by getting up a township, village, or school district ANTI-SLAVERY LIBRARY, of books and pamphlets. In the same movement may be included the purchase and gratuitous distribution of cheap tracts, and also the obtaining of subscribers for anti-slavery periodicals. Let this be done in two or three places in a county. Then, by co-operation, measures may be taken for employing a Colporteur for the county.

IV. VOLUNTARY LOCAL AGENTS.

"Where there are not earnest and active friends enough to establish a Library, and where no Colporteur or Voluntary Travelling Book Agents are operating effectively, a SINGLE INDIVIDUAL, with a very small outlay of money and of time, may at least BEGIN to operate in his own neighbourhood. By obtaining a few subscribers to some good anti-slavery paper, he may enlist others. By purchasing and distributing, gratuitously, or for a penny each, a dollar's worth of cheap anti-slavery tracts, he may awaken the attention of a still greater number. Then, by purchasing a small quantity of select books and pamphlets, to the value of 5 dols. or 10 dols. (enough to get them at a deduction from the retail price), he may sell them, and from the proceeds purchase other books and pamphlets, or an additional supply of the same.

"To facilitate these various modes of circulating anti-slavery literature, as well as to supply INDIVIDUALS who may wish only to obtain particular books, and BOOKSELLERS who may wish to order larger or smaller quantities, the *Executive Committee of the AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY* have made arrangements for keeping constantly on hand, for sale, at their

ANTI-SLAVERY DEPOSITORY OF BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, TRACTS, &c.

48, Beekman st. N. York, (H. B. Knight, Agent),

"*A constant supply of well-selected ANTI-SLAVERY LITERATURE, at Wholesale and Retail.*

"They intend (if the requisite means can be furnished by Abolitionists) to continue the publication, from time to time, of NEW AND IMPORTANT WORKS on slavery and anti-slavery, as well those of a PERMANENT STANDARD CHARACTER, as those specially adapted to meet the PARTICULAR EXIGENCIES of the times, as indicated by passing events, as they may transpire.

"CATALOGUES of the works now on hand will be published and circulated for the information of the public, and CORRECTED from time to time, as new works may be added, or old ones suffered to go out of print. Attention will be paid to the growing wants of the cause, in the view of supplying the PROGRESSIVE literature that may be needed, while retaining a hold upon that which is elementary and permanent in its character.

"The Catalogues contain the RETAIL PRICES of the different books, pamphlets, and tracts, and also the POSTAGE on a single copy of each if sent by mail.

"Packages and boxes of books, &c., will be sent by *Express* or otherwise, as directed.

"*Small parcels* might often be sent with the greater safety, and at little or no expense, if op-

portunities be improved to send *personally*, by *country merchants* and others coming to the city and returning soon.

TERMS.

"To those who purchase ~~TO SELL AGAIN~~, or for the establishment of PUBLIC LIBRARIES, to the amount of —dols. or upwards, a very liberal deduction will be made, viz. on all books published by this Society 25 per cent., and on books by others as large a deduction as is practicable.

"All orders must be accompanied with THE CASH. The reasons for this rule are many. It enables the Society to sell much CHEAPER than it otherwise could do. It saves much time and expense to keep accounts. And the Society has not the funds requisite to carry on a business on credit. If the dealer or agent lacks funds, he can raise them best among his friends, and it is not necessary to raise large sums. A few dollars will do to begin with, and as fast as the books are sold the money will come in for new purchases.

"The profits, if any, arising from the sale of books, pamphlets, tracts, &c., at the Depository of the Society, will be applied to the promotion of the common cause of the abolition of slavery, for which the Society labours.

"The signs of the times, it is believed, are full of encouragement to new and more extended anti-slavery efforts. The old party lines are already becoming confused, and are giving way. Prejudice is subsiding. A spirit of inquiry is reviving. A taste and a demand for anti-slavery literature have been developed. Now is the time for Abolitionists to be active in diffusing information far and wide.

"Mr. H. B. KNIGHT has been appointed Agent of the Society for the sale of anti-slavery publications, to whom letters and remittances on account of the publications may be addressed. The Depository is at No. 48 Beekman Street, New York, which has recently been fitted up with a Reading-room.

"On behalf of the Executive Committee,
"LEWIS TAPPAN, Cor. Sec."

MANCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY UNION.

WE publish the *Address of the Provisional Committee* of the above-named Association, which was issued on the eve of the Inaugural Meeting held at Manchester on the 24th Nov. and a brief notice of which appeared in our December Number. We also annex its Constitution, which was issued with the Address, and which has received the cordial concurrence and sanction of the Parent Society.

ADDRESS.

"One of the highest privileges, and one of the most important duties, devolving upon enlightened and conscientious men, is to aid, by every moral means, the oppressed in their struggle with their oppressors. There is no section of the human family that possesses greater and more pressing claims for sympathy and help than the African race, which, in almost all ages, and particularly in modern times, has been the prey of 'the vilest slavery that ever saw the sun.' Millions of our black brethren are at this moment held, and treated, as 'chattels to all intents, purposes, and

constructions whatsoever,' in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States of America; and subjected to outrages which pen could not describe nor imagination pourtray. Africa is still despoiled of her children; many thousands of them endure all the horrors of the middle passage every year. Year by year the number of slaves is increasing, and the slave power, especially in the United States, is assiduously labouring to extend its territory and to strengthen its foundations.

"Is it not time, therefore, for British philanthropy, which sends missionaries to the heathen, and establishes beneficent enterprises in the remotest ends of the earth, actively to engage in suppressing the monstrous iniquities of slavery and the slave trade? Shall it rest content with its past labours in the cause of emancipation, or shall it seek to complete what it commenced, and to restore every human chattel to the dignity of his manhood?

"The aim of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union* is to forward this great undertaking by every practical means in its power. Its main object is to promote the cultivation of cotton in India and on the West coast of Africa. If the inexhaustible resources of these countries were developed as they could and must be, not only would the material and the moral condition of the Hindoo and of the native African be immensely advanced, but negro slavery would soon cease to exist, and would only be known as one of the horrible realities of the past. The Society will also seek to induce the religious denominations of this country to remonstrate from time to time with their co-religionists in the United States, through whose unfaithfulness and criminality, mainly, 'the peculiar institution' continues to stain the escutcheon of the Western Republic. In this great and noble movement the Society earnestly invites the co-operation of all who believe that 'liberty is the right of every man.'

"Signed on behalf of the Provisional Committee,
"A. WESTON,
"F. W. CHESSON,
"Honorary Secretaries.*

"93, Piccadilly, Manchester."

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT EMBRACES THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY.

"I. That the name of this Society be, THE MANCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY UNION, and that it be auxiliary to the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, retaining, however, the right to take independent action on particular subjects as occasion may seem to require.

"II. That the objects of this Society be, to assist the PARENT SOCIETY in promoting the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

"III. That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society:

"That so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means

* Mr. Chesson has, we understand, since resigned his office. (Ed. A. S. Reporter.)

which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character*; that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in accordance with these principles, and that persons of all sects be invited to co-operate with it."

"IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society:

"1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the slave-trade and slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slaveholding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with Abolitionists in America, France, and other countries; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

"2. To encourage the cultivation of free-labour cotton, and other produce, in India, Africa, and the West-India Islands, and to recommend the use of free-labour produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown.

"3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom; and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

"4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with slaveholders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion."

"V. That every person who subscribes not less than five shillings annually, or makes a donation of five pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this Society.

"VI. That the Society be under the management of a President, Vice-President, a Treasurer, Secretaries, and a Committee of not less than twenty-one persons, who shall be annually elected, and shall have power to fill up vacancies, and add to their number.

"VII. That there be held in Manchester a general meeting of the subscribers once in each year, at which a report of the proceedings and a financial statement shall be presented, and a Committee and Officers elected.

"VIII. That the Committee have power to transact all business of the Society in the intervals of the general meetings, and to convene special general meetings of the Society when necessary."

Miscellanea.

SALE OF SOUTHERN FLESH-GOODS.—A lot of slaves, numbering sixteen, belonging to the heirs Andrew P. Beirne, were sold at auction in Monroe County, Va., a few days ago, for dols. 12090. 50. *The Farmers' Friend* says that three of them were infants, and one a very old woman. Twelve of them averaged 1000 dols. each, of which seven women and two of the men were only second or third rate.—*Galveston News*, 15th.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1st, 1854.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

WE have received sundry communications from subscribers to the *Reporter*, to the effect that eightpence postage was, in several instances, charged upon the January number. In explanation we beg to inform our friends we have ascertained that the post-office authorities levied the above rate, in consequence of the wrappers having printed matter on the inside. We ought to state that we have been in the habit of making use of similar covers for a long time, without ever having subjected our subscribers to any penalty; and that though employing for covers slips of paper having printed matter on one side, in all cases these had been rendered useless by the operation of the scissors, and we were under the impression that by this defacement we had complied with the spirit of the Act of Parliament, though it appears we were infringing its letter. We will take care that our subscribers be not subjected to any similar annoyance in future, and shall feel obliged by a line, in the event of any other irregularities. In cases where the postage-rate has been charged and paid, we fear there is no remedy; but where the payment has been refused, a proper representation to the postmaster would probably result in the surrender of the confiscated number without charge.

We would take this opportunity of respectfully submitting to those who have been in the habit of receiving the *Reporter* gratis, and who are not subscribers to the Society, that it is our desire to render our periodical self-supporting, and that, as one means to this end, we should like to diminish our free list. As a general rule, if any thing is worth having it is worth paying for, especially in cases like the present, where the cost is trifling. We have calculated that if the parties on our free list, who are not subscribers to the Society, would permit us to add their names to our paid list, the *Reporter* would have a paying circulation. Now, we need scarcely urge that they could not afford a better illustration of their interest in the cause, than by at once sending us a post-office order for the amount of their subscription for the current year.

We would also respectfully request all parties who take in the *Reporter* regularly, to give us the preference in taking up or renewing their subscriptions. To the *trade*, that is, to the *booksellers* who supply our periodical to country customers, we are obliged to allow a discount, which considerably affects our balance-sheet: in other words, our *Reporter* account "won't add up" at the end of the year. We are persuaded that if our friends gave the matter a

moment's consideration, and believed we should be benefited by their taking up their subscriptions with us direct, those who now subscribe through the ordinary channels would in future apply to us. Now they know it, we hope they will be so kind as to respond to our solicitation.

It would afford us the greatest pleasure to be enabled to enlarge the *Reporter* without raising its price. Frequently, owing to our limited space, we are compelled to leave out highly important anti-slavery information, at a time when its appearance would be extremely opportune. The result is, a postponement of its introduction until the moment of interest has gone by. There is no reason either why the *Reporter* should not be a fortnightly instead of a monthly publication. But improvement in this and other respects is out of the question, unless we are encouraged thereto by evidence of increased general interest. We are pleased to have to record a considerably-augmented regular subscription list for the year 1854, and are grateful to our friends for thus much of their support. All we ask of them is to promote our circulation to the utmost extent of their ability, and, on our side, we will endeavour to meet any reasonable demand that may be made upon us for more extensive information on all matters connected with the anti-slavery question.

A few neatly bound copies of the *Reporter* for 1853 may be had, *price Five Shillings*, on application to Mr. Peter Jones Bolton, No. 27 New Broad Street, City, to whom Post-office orders should be made payable.

Subscribers to the *Reporter* and to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, are respectfully reminded that their subscriptions fell due on the 1st January ultimo.

The Editor will feel obliged by communications.

THE REVEREND F. HEMMING.

THE following official communication, in reference to the above-named gentleman, has been addressed to the Honorary Secretaries of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*. As it explains itself, it needs no further comment from us. We may, however, express a hope that the writer of the article in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, who evidently penned it under an erroneous impression of the facts of the case, will see the propriety of giving our letter publicity.

27 New Broad Street, London,
28th December 1853.

To the Honorary Secretaries of the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*.

GENTLEMEN—My attention has been directed to a paragraph in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 3d inst., published

in New York, stating, on the authority of the *Anti-Slavery Watchman*, that "the Rev. F. Hemming, an Agent of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, had been lecturing in Manchester, and is actively prosecuting his labours in other parts of the country, with a view to raise 4000*l.*, with which the above Society proposes prosecuting a general anti-slavery mission in the Free States."

I had seen the above statement in the *Anti-Slavery Watchman*, but was not then in possession of any information bearing on the subject. Being aware, however, that it was under representations to the above effect that Mr. Hemming induced a few gentlemen to constitute the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union*, I feel it to be my duty to inform you, on the authority of information quite recently received from the Corresponding Secretary of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, that the Executive Committee did not authorise Mr. Hemming to institute any such enterprise: on the contrary, the Executive Committee repudiate the scheme which Mr. Hemming has set on foot; and though they would be glad to receive voluntary donations from British Abolitionists, they did not contemplate making a public appeal for funds, nor authorise Mr. Hemming to organize a movement for their special benefit. The object of Mr. Hemming's visit to this country was of a personal nature; but the Executive Committee of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* gave him permission to make, if he thought proper, a private appeal to his own religious denomination, in aid of an anti-slavery mission in the Free States, which is being prosecuted by a Missionary Association established by the gentlemen who constitute the executive of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

As the *Manchester Anti-Slavery Union* has, by its constitution, the right to take independent action on particular subjects, and as I am informed that the Committee have recently appointed Mr. Hemming as the Society's Agent for three months, I feel it imperative upon me to communicate these facts to you, lest the Committee should, under an erroneous impression, set on foot, as one of its special objects, the enterprise for which, under the representations of Mr. Hemming, the *Manchester Union* was originated.

You will be good enough to submit this communication to your Committee, at the earliest opportunity, and to make it known to the individual members of which it is composed.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your's very truly,

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,
Secretary.

SUGAR, SLAVERY, AND EMANCIPATION.

IN vindication of a memorable act of national justice, and of its results, we feel it to be our duty to attempt to dispel a monstrous delusion, and to establish a great truth. The delusion is, that Emancipation has ruined the British planters: the truth, that they themselves are the immediate authors of their own ruin.

What would be thought of an English farmer, who, whilst complaining of unremunerative prices, foreign competition, and clamouring for Protection, should knowingly and wantonly waste and destroy one hundred bushels of good wheat out of every two hundred his land produced, and convert nearly fifty of what remained into some unprofitable composition? and who, finding himself going to the wall under these circumstances, should turn round and unblushingly abuse the legislature, the British public, and Free-trade, and deliberately charge them with causing his ruin?

Yet this is what the West-India planters and merchants are doing: for, whilst they are positively destroying and throwing away one-half of their actual produce, and converting half of the remainder into a scarcely marketable commodity, they are complaining of the unprofitableness of estates, bewailing the scarcity of labour, and attributing their embarrassments or their ruin to Emancipation, and to the absence of protective duties.

The planters know well that the cane contains eighteen per cent. of crystallizable sugar, every grain of which ought to find its way into the market. Yet, what is the fact? Out of these eighteen parts, eight are left in the residue of the crushed cane, and burnt. Of the ten that remain, five are unnecessarily converted into what has been designated "an unconsumable drug called West-India Molasses," of which a large portion is pumped into the sea, and the rest manufactured into an unremunerative commodity; leaving, out of the original eighteen, not more than five parts to the planter and the merchant to meet expenses.

Now, so long as the West-India planters and merchants persist in wasting nearly three-fourths of their produce, and in thus suicidally dissipating a corresponding proportion of the available labour in the colonies, they have not the shadow of a pretext for soliciting—on commercial grounds—the imposition of discriminating duties to enable them to compete with the foreign sugar-grower; nor for supplicating of the British public, eleemosynary aid for the importation of immigrant labour. If the West-India planters find their estates unprofitable, the fault lies at their own door. It is the inevitable consequence of their perseverance in

tattempts to engraft upon free-labour, the wasteful system of producing sugar, introduced with slavery, nearly three centuries ago. For them to ascribe their embarrassments to any other cause, is a calumny against Emancipation and free negro labour.

It is highly essential to call attention to these facts, which concern not the British planters only, but vitally affect the interests of commerce, the consumers of sugar, and the imperial revenue. They have, besides, an all-important bearing upon the question of Emancipation in foreign colonies, and upon the continuance of the slave-trade; for the foreign planter, with his eyes fixed upon our emancipated colonies, and especially upon the indigence of the British planters, and hearing it ascribed by them to Emancipation, has come to regard freedom to the slave as synonymous with ruin to the master, and therefore rejects it with contempt and ridicule.

It is obvious that the result of an increased production of sugar would be an augmentation of the imports, a reduction of price, a more extensive consumption, and a larger revenue. Not less evident is it, that the enormous waste of produce above mentioned creates a corresponding deficiency of sugar in the market, which is made up by the foreign planter, working by slave-labour, and that therefore it operates as a direct stimulus to the slave-trade. Thus, by his own act, the British planter brings himself into competition with the very system he denounces as the cause of his ruin. If, however, he were to procure, from the same amount of labour and the same canes he actually employs, twice his present returns of produce—which he might easily do—he would supply so large a quantity of sugar for consumption as to place himself beyond the reach of slave-labour competition.

The British planters and West-India merchants cannot plead in self-defence, that they know of no mode of obviating these losses and waste. They are perfectly aware that they can be prevented, and by means at once simple and inexpensive.

A few years ago their attention was directed to the fact, that by shipping the produce of the cane in a state of "Concentrated or Concrete juice"—that is, cane-juice reduced to the sugar-point—the canes and the labourers required to produce a given quantity of raw sugar by the method in general use, would positively yield at least double that quantity.* The advantages of the simpler system over the old plan were so great and so obvious, that, in 1846, thirty-two of the most eminent West-

* This valuable discovery was made by W. A. Archbald, Esq., a practical planter and refiner of many years' experience, who is extensively known in the West Indies.

India firms in London—whose influence is sufficiently powerful to accomplish any change for the better—memorialized the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, then President of the Board of Trade, setting forth those advantages in detail, and stating emphatically, that “combined they might enable the West-India planter, notwithstanding the recent alterations in the sugar duties, to compete successfully with the foreign sugar-grower.” The object of the memorial was to induce the Government to facilitate the adoption of this system in the West Indies, by fixing the duty on the new material, of which a considerable bulk had been imported. The Government promptly directed the Excise to analyse a portion, for the purpose of ascertaining at what rate of duty the article could be admitted. The result was, a recommendation from this department to the Board of Trade, to charge 2s. 8d. per cwt. less upon it than upon sugar: a rate certainly not equitable, but one, nevertheless, with which the memorialists might have been satisfied for a commencement, inasmuch as there was only a difference of 5½d. a cwt. between the proposed government-rate and that at which they themselves would have fixed it. They objected, however, to this rate of duty; and with a supineness peculiarly characteristic of the West-India body in all matters involving the real welfare of the Colonies—in which, nevertheless, they have so large a stake—a supineness cast off only when, in the teeth of Free-trade, they are clamouring for Protection on commercial grounds: or, in defiance of the fact of Emancipation, are virtually seeking the restoration of slavery under the name of “contracts for service” and “free African immigration:” or are pertinaciously importuning the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be a party to the delusion of “refining in bond:” the West-India merchants and planters unpardonably abandoned the whole question, altogether regardless, as it would seem, of the great interests it involved.

The slave-holding planters, however, who are said to be flourishing, do not appear to be quite so blind to their own interests as their unprosperous and complaining British competitors. Whilst the majority of the latter, under the paralysing influence of a bigoted attachment to a system three centuries too old for Free-labour and Free-trade, neglect, and even in many instances refuse to make any attempt to help themselves, their rivals are seizing with avidity every opportunity of improving their position, and some of them, alive to the immense advantages to be derived from the new plan of shipping their produce, have already adopted it.

The copy of a statement is in our possession, which was addressed to one of our most

eminent West-India firms, from its correspondent abroad, shewing the results that are being actually obtained there under the new system of preparing and importing the crops. This document, and others bearing on the same subject, furnish positive data from which it is demonstrable, that had the sugar-crop of Barbadoes for the year 1853 been imported in the new form of “Concrete,” instead of having been converted into Sugar, Rum, and Molasses, it would have yielded a net sum of 1,003,063*l.* 15*s.* instead of only 680,841*l.* 5*s.*, as the official return of the Chamber of Commerce of Barbadoes, published in our last *Reporter*, states it to have realized.

It can also be demonstrated irrefutably, from the same data, that the deficiency of produce on the crops of 1852 in the West-India Colonies alone, amounted to not less than 3,400,000 cwt., a quantity more than equal in amount to the whole of the importations of Sugar in that year from those colonies.

The whole of this enormous quantity was actually produced, then positively destroyed or wasted, for sugar-making purposes, and was exclusive of the large per centage (eight parts out of eighteen) burnt in the residue of the crushed cane or megass.

The wickedness and the immorality are flagrant which this persistency in a system so wasteful, and that has its origin in a criminal disregard of the value of human labour, involves. It is high time the British public, who paid twenty millions for the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies, and who, as one result of the dissipation of produce and labour we have described, are being annually mulcted in five millions more in the price of their sugar, should raise their powerful voice on the subject, and bring the present system to an end. If, in extenuation of themselves, the British planters should urge, that with few exceptions the slave-holding foreigner practises the same system, they would stand self-convicted of an utter and an inexcusable contempt of economy in relation to human labour. This, it is almost superfluous to observe, is one of the most prominent features of slavery, but is altogether incompatible with free-labour, and must prove fatal to its success. What, therefore, the slaveholder, with the cowhide in his hand and the slave-trade at his back, may do for a time with comparative impunity, the British planter, working with free-labour, cannot do, without bringing upon himself the ruin that inevitably overtakes wilful waste. If the slave-holding sugar-grower were but to economize the labour he has at command, by making the most of what it yields, his enormous production would ere long compel him, first, to cease importing fresh slaves, for the purpose of augmenting

his crops, and presently to emancipate those he has, for their toil would soon cease to be remunerative to their owner.

But, we would ask, is it not an appalling reflection, that, in consequence of the deficiency in the supply of sugar, caused by the frightful waste to which we have called attention, innocent human beings should be dragged by thousands from their homes, and consigned to life-long slavery, to labour naked under a blistering sun and the stimulus of the cutting lash: that after enduring tortures and sufferings indescribable for the very purpose of raising as much produce as a merciless coercion can extort, they should themselves be compelled to burn a large portion of it with their own hands, and that the bulk of the remainder should be wantonly dissipated?

Yet how, in the teeth of deep-rooted prejudice in favour of waste and dissipation: of headstrong, blind opposition to palpably beneficial innovation: of pertinacious demands for delusive remedies: how is a change to be brought about? Who is to undertake the Herculean task of forcing the West-India merchants and planters to listen to common sense, and to practise economy? The public press is the only power that can do this! The same power which rendered the country the essential service of holding up the Free-trade mirror to the British farmer's vision when it was befogged by the mystifications of Protection, must again step in to promote the cause of Emancipation and Humanity, of the national interests and those of the West Indies. Nothing short of lessons from this quarter will ever teach the West-India planters and merchants the A, B, C of West-India prosperity.

We shall return to this subject in our next.

THE CUBANS AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE append a somewhat remarkable document, extracted from a recent number of the *Grenada Free Press*. It is a petition from a considerable number of merchants, proprietors, and planters resident in the district of Matanzas, in Cuba, addressed to the Captain-General of the island, and praying for the suppression of the slave-trade. It will be observed that the principal grounds of the request are, a fear of insurrection, founded on the constant accessions that are being made to the slave-population by the importations of fresh negroes from Africa; and the apprehension of renewed attempts, on the part of foreign filibusters, to seize upon the island, and destroy its political existence. Whether there exists any reasonable foundation for this alarm, we are not in a position to say; and so the Cuban slave-trade be abolished, it matters very little on what

grounds its abolition by the Cubans is urged; though it would, of course, be more gratifying to find them giving the greatest prominence to the higher considerations of religion and humanity, and the national honour, as pledged in solemn treaties.

"TO THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF CUBA.

"The undersigned merchants, proprietors, and planters, of the district comprised in the military jurisdiction of Matanzas, are impelled by a sacred duty to call the attention of your Excellency to a matter of the highest importance to this country, which Her Majesty the Queen has committed to your vigilant care.

"This matter is the introduction of African negroes. The practice of this odious contraband trade, in despite of humanity, of justice, of our most solemn national treaties, and of the various decrees of our gracious sovereign, has accumulated upon the territory of this island a coloured population, amounting, according to official statistics, to six hundred and seventy thousand (670,000), of which four hundred and ninety-eight thousand (498,000) are slaves.

"The white race cannot increase with so rapid a progress, and experience demonstrates that these opposing elements cannot be conciliated. What can result from this violation of order but the state of conflict in which we now see ourselves?

"Thus it becomes necessary to say to your Excellency that the Island of Cuba finds itself placed in a most false and precarious position. It does not require much penetration to understand where must arrive the consequence of the preponderance of the coloured population, slave and free. Unhappily, we have in Hayti a terrible example, too near us not to be warned to avoid becoming a second edition of such a work.

"The slaves have already a marked tendency to insurrection and anarchy. Hence the partial efforts that occurred this very year at Bemba, and lately on the sugar estate of Triunvirato, in this jurisdiction; and it belongs to your paternal administration to hear the general protest against a contraband trade which, while continued, compromises day by day the political existence of the island, in swelling the number and strengthening the power of this alien race.

"Since the triumph of the race in Hayti, and the emancipation in Jamaica, the emissaries sent, not only from these islands, but from persons and societies whose existence is not unknown to our wise government, swarm on the soil of Cuba, notwithstanding the assiduous zeal and keen vigilance of our authorities, and combine incessantly to nourish this dangerous tendency.

"It is time, your Excellency, that we are relieved from this contraband stigma on our civilization—the horrid abyss in which we bury our hopes of security and future welfare—the hydra which frightens away the capitalists who would come to establish themselves on our soil, and enrich it with their fortunes, and those who, having acquired wealth here, convey it where they can enjoy it without fears of commotions.

"To your Excellency is reserved a high glory. You will confer solid happiness and tranquillity

on Cuba, and secure permanently to the crown of Spain its most precious jewel, in treating with some energy this clandestine traffic in negroes from Africa, until it is truly and totally exterminated.

"At the same time the fields of the island, and particularly those of the territorial jurisdiction of Matanzas—occupied, to our misfortune, by seventy thousand slaves—claim from the care of your Excellency measures of precaution and safety; measures not only to reduce insurrections, but to prevent them by the evidence of an unrelaxing vigilance; for any rising is a great absolute evil.

"In the destruction of the delinquents there is also a valuable constituent of our productive wealth. The movements at Bemba and the Trinvirato were quelled, yet the death of three hundred negroes was not felt by the planters. But most of all was the loss of the innocent victims, immolated by the barbarity of the desperate savages. They call upon us from the tomb to guard against the repetition of those dreadful scenes.

"No measure, however, can be efficacious while the slave-trade grows in strength and audacity, under the stimulus and fosterage of the most enlightened race. Granting that they may not be strong enough to conquer us, still the struggle must ever be sharp and bitter for the whites. And who can pretend to fix the number that would be sufficient, since we cannot count upon a corresponding increase of the white force?

"Your memorialists have believed it to be their duty, in addressing a zealous and enlightened executive, to use the plain language of truth in stating their facts and reasons. Many arguments are omitted, for those in support of a question on which rests no less than the lives and interests of the faithful subjects of her Majesty, confided to your immediate charge, are numerous; but these will certainly present themselves to the clear judgment of your Excellency.

"This subject could be presented very favourably in an economical point of view; but the first, and, beyond dispute, the principal consideration, is the preservation of the political existence of the country.

"Your Excellency is respectfully supplicated to receive with favour this representation, as the just and sincere voice of the Cuban people, in accordance with their zeal for the implicit observance of the superior existing ordinances on this subject, and thereupon to dictate such measures as in your high discretion you may think proper for the extermination of this unlawful traffic in African negroes, and at the same time afford security to the unprotected field of the island.

"Signed by ninety-three responsible names.
"Matanzas, November 19, 1853."

Whether the new Captain-General will take measures for the suppression of the unlawful traffic, time only will prove. Gold will not be wanting as an inducement to him to betray his trust. His predecessor is stated to have realized 1,500,000 dollars during his brief term of office; and the Lieutenant-Governor of Nueva Filipina was recently proved to have received a bribe of 6000 dollars to prevent the landing of certain negroes. The

trial, however, was quashed, in order to avoid the disgrace to an officer of the Spanish Crown, which would have overtaken him had the law been permitted to take its course. Probably, too, some awkward disclosures were apprehended. It is asserted that several thousand slaves have been landed within the last three months. The most recent advices from Havannah state that five vessels were fitting out there for the slave-trade. It was also reported that a cargo of slaves had been landed on the coast. The following is the proclamation of the Marquis de Pezuela, the new Captain-General:

"As in the transfer of command from one authority to another, those engaged in the African slave-trade will take advantage of this circumstance of doubt and perplexity which exists among the inferior authorities as to whether the new supreme authority will adopt measures more or less rigorous than others with regard to the suppression of this traffic, it is my duty to inform you that I shall observe the laws in relation thereto, and shall exercise them upon any person who may engage in this prohibited trade. I shall continue them in force, and charge their observance upon you; as also all other instructions that my worthy predecessors have enjoined—the treaties of Spain of the 23d of September 1817, and 28th of June 1835, relating to the slave-traffic, and the observance, both in the spirit and the letter, of the penal law of the 4th of March 1845. But as the total extinction of a traffic is difficult along these vast coasts, that is supported by the strength and vigour of interested parties; and as we have seen the inefficacy of the employés of our faithful and powerful ally, in its numerous cruisers, and of our own; and as recent returns have shewn a great mortality among the slaves; it seems to us indispensable that some substitute should be introduced. I therefore authorise the introduction of free labourers, Asiatics and Spaniards, since it is the will of the government, that, without exception, but, at the same time, without any privilege, all the undertakings and contracts that are under the guardianship of the government should be favoured."

WEST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

SUMMARY.

JAMAICA.—Since our last summary, the important measures which have been for some time before the legislature have advanced a stage; and it is more than probable that the constitution, now a century and a-half old, will be adapted to the great social changes which have taken place. On the 20th of December last, the report of the Committee on the Governor's message of the 25th of October, respecting responsible government, which had been referred back to the Committee for reconsideration, was again presented to the House. On the following day it was taken up in a Committee of the whole House on the state of the island, and finally dealt with. It recommends that "the new ministry shall consist of any number not

exceeding four members, the number to be left to the discretion of the Governor, and one of these is to be chosen from the Council, and from one to three, as the Governor shall think best, from the Assembly. The salary of each to be 800*l.*, with a further sum to the whole of 500*l.* per annum, for payment of clerks and other contingencies." These points were carried after considerable opposition. The report further recommends a remodelling of the Council, by a restriction of its functions to those of a purely legislative body, at the same time increasing its members from twelve to seventeen. An attempt was made to render six of its members elective, but it failed. The Governor is to select his Privy Council as he may think fit. It was also recommended to grant a permanent revenue to meet the several charges on the civil list; and, in order to render the new constitution more perfect, the elective franchise is to be amended. The report was referred to the Finance Committee, with instructions to prepare and bring in the necessary bills.

The Committee appointed by the House to inquire into the practicability of remodelling the institutions of the country, with a view to immediate and prospective retrenchments, had been taking evidence, and it was believed that the result would be a considerable reduction of expenditure.

On the 20th of December, a body of Coolies amounting to 344, who had been concentrated in Montego Bay, left that town for Kingston, under an escort of police, in order to claim their return passages.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The latest packet summary of the *Royal Gazette* states with regard to the sugar crop, that "the weather, extraordinary for the season, has been every thing the planter could wish: sufficiently dry to admit of finishing the year's crop, yet so moist as to be highly beneficial to the growing cane." The crop is likely to yield a much larger amount of sugar than was anticipated. The planters, however, will suffer from the serious rise in freights. Within a month, an advance has taken place from 1*s.* 6*d.* a cwt. to 6*s.* per cwt. The small capitalist, who is compelled to convert at once his crop into cash, will, in consequence, have to dispose of his produce at a very low and unremunerative rate. The large sugar owner, with plentiful credit at home, can store his produce, and wait either until the demand for shipping abates, or until further arrivals.

At the sittings of the Court of Policy on the 14th of December, a communication from the Immigration Agent-General was submitted, shewing the number of immigrants imported during the quarter ending 30th of September last. The number that had arrived was 1793, and the number that had returned was 428, at a cost to the colony of 2567*l.* 10*s.*

BARBADOES.—A large quantity of rain had fallen during the whole of the month of November, which had tended to check the growth of the cane, and hasten its maturity. As there is a large breadth to be cut, the crop is expected to exceed that of last year, but scarcely to equal that of the year before. The planting for the next season had commenced.

ST. VINCENT.—The projected removal of the white troops from several of the smaller colonies had evoked a considerable amount of opposition from the press. The following remarks are taken from the *St. Vincent Weekly Mirror*:

"In this, as in the other colonies similarly situated, this movement on the part of the home government is looked upon with considerable alarm; but, in almost every instance, we find that the alarm thus engendered is not so much on account of aggression from without, as of aggressions from within. Invasions by foreign powers are but lightly talked of, whilst, on the other hand, allusions are very generally made to the unruly passions of the peasantry, who, finding that military protection is withdrawn from the colony, will set the laws at defiance, and indulge in rapine and plunder, at the expense of persons in more fortunate circumstances. What is to be done in such a predicament? is the cry of some who anxiously play the part of alarmists. Our reply is, Strive to preserve a closer union of sentiment between yourselves and the class of persons of whom you now stand in dread; study to promote their social condition; make no incursions upon their liberties; regard them at all times as British fellow-subjects; and you will find that your present apprehensions are groundless. We by no means approve of the withdrawal of the troops, because, if these colonies are of value to Great Britain, as forming part of her vast empire, we ought not to be thus thrown upon our own resources for protection. But we emphatically deny that there is at present the least ground for distrusting our peasantry. We have no doubt that the late Tortola riot will be adverted to in support of a contrary opinion; but we happen to know something of the state of society in Tortola, and we verily believe that, had the peasantry of that island not been subjected to a long course of oppressions in order to sustain a rotten aristocracy, the riot never would have taken place. Our labouring classes are becoming wiser every day; and the time is past when, perhaps, it was necessary to enforce submission at the point of the bayonet."

GRENADA.—It is stated in the *St. George's Chronicle* that the progressive diminution of crime in the colony is strikingly marked by the fewness of cases which of late have come to trial before the courts of justice. The December assizes terminated on the day of their opening; two larceny cases forming the total amount of the business of the session.

DOMINICA.—The following remarks from the *Dominican* of the 30th of November last have been drawn forth from the circumstance of Joseph Bellot, Esq., who is designated as one of the "sons of the land," having

become the purchaser of the *Colibri* and *Soufrière* estates; the latter one of the finest in the island. Mr. Bellot is a practical and experienced planter, who has spent a large portion of his days in the island of Trinidad, where, as manager and attorney, he successfully conducted several properties entrusted to his charge.

"The bane of this island hitherto, and the cause of its poverty—absenteeism of its proprietary body—bids fair at length to be remedied. The principal holders of estates in the island are residents, and, with one or two exceptions, this being their native land, it is but reasonable to suppose they will make it their home. Contradistinguished from others, who seek in the Antilles the realization of wealth for the purpose of expending the same in Europe, they seek to obtain a competency, and, if they realize wealth, it will be, as a matter of course, disbursed in the island. Resident proprietors have a greater interest in the formation and keeping up of good roads in the island—of advancing the enlightenment and civilization of the labouring population, the sinews of all communities—than mere sojourners; hence the desirability of such 'natural masters of the soil.'"

GERRITT SMITH IN CONGRESS.

THIS distinguished American philanthropist and ultra-Abolitionist, who was returned to Congress in November 1852, as the representative of the Liberty party, has recently delivered a thorough anti-slavery speech in his place in the United States' Senate. His return was regarded by the friends of Emancipation in the North in the light of a great triumph; and he appears to have taken an early opportunity of dealing a vigorous blow to the "peculiar institution" of the South. One cannot but admire the tact with which he contrived to bring in the subject of slavery, and to give prominence to it, though he rose to speak on a totally different question.

On the 20th December last, the House being in Committee on the state of the Union, and Mr. Houston having offered resolutions referring the several portions of the President's message to appropriate Committees, the Hon. Gerritt Smith took the floor for the purpose of commenting on a passage in the message relating to the case of Martin Koszta. His speech is too long for insertion *in extenso*, but we append the latter, and by far the most important portion of it. He expressed his disapproval of some things in the action of government on that case, and shewed that the alliance of the President and his Cabinet with a worse than Austrian despotism at home, rendered their interference to maintain the rights of fugitives from foreign oppression a mere mockery.

Between the case of Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee and half-naturalized American citizen fleeing from the Austrian police, and claiming the protection of the American flag

in a foreign port, and the great question of Slavery and the Fugitive Slave-Law, there does not appear to be any direct connection, and to establish one certainly required no inconsiderable ingenuity on the part of the honourable senator, and an amount of anti-slavery zeal which commands admiration. This he did, however, with much dexterity, and thus succeeded in bringing prominently forward the whole question of slavery, and of provoking a debate upon it. A correspondent informs us that the speech was listened to throughout with profound interest. We subjoin therefrom those portions which bore upon the subject of slavery:

"I admit that Austria is an oppressor. But is it not equally true, and far more glaringly true, that America is a much greater and guiltier oppressor? Indeed, compared with our despotism, which classes millions of men, women, and children with cattle, Austrian despotism is but as the little finger to the loins. Surely, surely, it will never be time for America to taunt Austria with being an oppressor, until the influence of American example is such as to shame Austria out of her oppression, rather than to justify and confirm her in it.

"In the same letter to the representative of Austria, Mr. Marcy presumes to quote, as one of the justifications of Captain Ingraham's conduct, the divine law, *to do unto others as we would have others do unto us*. Now, was it not the very acme of presumption for the American government to quote this law, while it surpasses every other government in trampling it under foot? Did Mr. Marcy suppose Mr. Hulsemann to be stone-blind? Did he suppose that Mr. Hulsemann had lived in the city of Washington so long, and yet had seen nothing of the buying and selling of human beings as brutes, which is continually going on here, under the eye and under the authority of government? Did he suppose that Mr. Hulsemann could be ignorant of the fact, that the American government is the great slave-catcher for the American slaveholders? Did he suppose him to be ignorant of the fact, that the great American slave-trade finds in the American government its great patron; and that this trade is carried on, not only under the general protection, but under the specific regulations of Congress? Did he suppose him to be ignorant of the fact, that many, both at the North and South (among whom is the President himself), claim that American slavery is a national institution, and made such by the American constitution? It is a national institution. If not made such by our organic law, it is, nevertheless, made such by the enactments of Congress, the decisions of the Judiciary, and the acquiescence of the American people. And did Mr. Marcy suppose Mr. Hulsemann to be entirely unaware that the present administration surpasses all its predecessors in shameless pledges and devotion to the slave power? Certainly Mr. Marcy fell into a great mistake in presuming Mr. Hulsemann to be in total darkness on all these points. If, indeed, a mistake, it is a very ludicrous one. If but an affectation, it is too wicked to be ludicrous.

"I referred, a moment since, to some of the

evidences of the nationality of American slavery. It sometimes suits the slaveholders to claim that their slavery is an exclusively state concern; and that the North has therefore nothing to do with it. But as well may you, when urging a man up hill with a heavy load upon his back, and with your lash also upon his back, tell him that he has nothing to do either with the load or the lash. The poor North has much to do with slavery. It staggers under its load, and smarts under its lash.

"But I must do Secretary Marcy and the administration justice. What I have said, were I to stop here, would convey the idea, that, in his letter to Mr. Hulsemann, the Secretary inculcates the duty of *unconditional* obedience to the law which requires us to do unto others as we would have others do unto us. He is, however, very far from doing so. He remembers, as with paternal solicitude, American slavery and the Fugitive Slave Act, and provides for their safety. To this end he qualifies the commandment of God, and makes it read, that we are to obey it only when there is no commandment of man to the contrary. In a word, he adopts the American theology—that pro-slavery theology, which makes human government paramount to the divine, and exalts the wisdom and authority of man above the wisdom and authority of God."

"I said that I must do the Secretary justice; and I have now done it. But, in doing it, a piece of flagrant injustice has been brought to light; for what less than flagrant can I call his injustice to the Bible? The Secretary says that this blessed volume 'enjoins upon all men, everywhere, when not acting under legal restraint, to do unto others whatever they would that others should do unto them.' Now, the phrase 'when not acting under legal restraint' is a sheer interpolation. The commandment, as we find it in the Bible, is without qualification—is absolute. The administration is guilty, therefore, through its Secretary, of deliberately corrupting the Bible. Moreover, it is guilty of deliberately corrupting this authentic and sacred word of Christianity at the most vital point. For this commandment, to do unto others as we would have others do unto us, is the sum total of the requirements of Christianity. I say so on the authority of Jesus Christ himself. For when He had given this commandment, He added: 'for this is the law and the prophets.'"

"I am not unmindful how strong a temptation the administration was under, in this instance, to corrupt the Bible. I am willing to make all due allowance on that account. Strong, however, as was the temptation, it nevertheless should have been resisted. I am well aware, that for the administration to justify the rescue of Koszta on the unqualified, naked Bible ground, of doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, would be to throw open the door for the rescue of every fugitive slave; it would be to justify the rescue of Shadrach at Boston; it would be to justify the celebrated rescue in my own neighbourhood—I mean the rescue of Jerry at Syracuse; it would be to justify the bloody rescue at Christiana. For not only is it true that all men would be rescued from slavery, but it is also true that very nearly all men would be rescued from slavery, even at the expense of blood. I add, that for the administration to justify, on naked Bible ground,

the rescue of Koszta, would be, in effect, to justify the deliverance of every slave. Now, for an administration that sold itself in advance to the slave power, and that is indebted for all its hopes, and for its very being, to that power—for such an administration to take the position of simple Bible truth, and thereby invite the subversion of all slavery, would be to practise the cruellest ingratitude. Such ingratitude could not fail to exasperate the slave power—that mighty and dominant power, before which not only the administration of the American people, but the American people themselves, fall down as abjectly as did Nebuchadnezzar's people before the image which he had set up. Nevertheless, however important it may be to maintain slavery, it is far more important to maintain Christianity; and the administration is therefore to be condemned for giving up Christianity for slavery. I add, that if American slavery is, as the famous John Wesley called it, 'the sum of all villainies,' then it is certainly a very poor bargain to exchange Christianity for it.

"Sir, this doctrine of the administration, that human enactments are paramount to divine law, and that the divine authority is not to be allowed to prevail against human authority, is a doctrine as perilous to man as it is dishonourable to God. In denying the supremacy of God, it annihilates the rights of man. I trust that a better day will come, when all men shall be convinced that human rights are not to be secured by human cunning and human juggles, but solely by the unfaltering acknowledgment of the divine power. This crazy world is intent on saving itself by dethroning God. But, in that better day, to which I have referred, the conviction shall be universal, that the only safety of man consists in leaving God upon His throne.

"To illustrate the absurdity of this atheistic doctrine of the administration, we will suppose that, by a statute of Turkey, any person, Hungarian born, ought to be kidnapped. Then, according to this atheistic doctrine, Captain Ingraham had no right to rescue Koszta, for his kidnappers, in that case, were acting 'under legal restraint.'"

"Mr. SOLLERS, of Maryland.—Mr. Chairman, what is the question before the House?"

"THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. Orr, of South Carolina).—Does that gentleman from Maryland rise to a question of order?"

"Mr. SOLLERS.—I do.

"THE CHAIRMAN.—What is the gentleman's question?"

"Mr. SOLLERS.—I want to know what is the subject before the House?"

"THE CHAIRMAN.—The subject is the reference of the President's Message.

"Mr. SOLLERS.—The gentleman from New York is making an Abolition speech, and I do not see its relevancy to the question before the House.

"THE CHAIRMAN.—The gentleman from New York is entitled to the floor, and he is in order.

"Mr. SMITH.—The gentleman from Maryland says that I am making an Abolition speech. I am; and I hope he will be patient under it. I, in my turn, will be patient under an *anti*-Abolition speech.

"But I will proceed in my illustrations of the absurdity of this atheistic doctrine of the admini-

nistration. What, too, if there were a statute of Turkey declaring it right to kidnap any person who is an American born. Then, according to this corrupt theology of the administration, we should not be at liberty to rescue an American citizen who might be kidnapped in Turkey. And what, too, if, acting under human authority, or, in the language of the administration, 'under legal restraint,' the people of one of the Barbary States should kidnap Secretary Marcy, and even President Pierce himself, then, also, according to this God-dethroning doctrine of the administration, our hands would be tied, and we should have no right to reclaim these distinguished men. The supposition that such distinguished men can be kidnapped is not absurd. The great Cervantes was a slave in one of the Barbary States. So, too, was the great Arago. And it is not beyond the pale of possibility, that even the great Secretary and the great President may yet be slaves. I am aware that they, who stand up so stoutly for slavery, and for the multiplication of its victims, dream not that they themselves can ever be its victims. They dream not that this chalice, which they put to the lips of others, can ever be returned to their own. And yet even this terrible retribution, or one still more terrible than any which this life can afford, may be the retribution of such stupendous treachery and enmity to the human brotherhood. Little did Napoleon think, when, with perfidy unutterable, he had the noble but ill-fated Toussaint l'Ouverture carried across the waters to perish in a prison,

"That he himself, then greatest among men,

Should, in like manner, be so soon conveyed

Athwart the deep,"

to perish also in a prison.

"In that great day (for which, as it has been sublimely said, all others were made), when every man shall 'receive the things done in his body,' let me not be found of the number of those who have wielded civil office to bind and multiply the victims of oppression. When I witness the tendency of power in human hands, be it civil or ecclesiastical, or any other power, to such perversion, I shrink from possessing it, lest I, too, might be tempted to lend it to the oppressor instead of the oppressed. 'So I returned,' says the wise man, 'and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter: and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter.'

"I proceed to say, that this detestable doctrine of the administration goes to blot all over that page of history of which Americans are so proud. I mean that page which records the famous achievement of Decatur and his brave companions in the Mediterranean. For it must be remembered, that the Algerine slaveholders, who were so severely chastised, and that, too, notwithstanding, being the most ignorant, they were the least guilty class of slaveholders. I say, it must be remembered that these Algerine slaveholders acted under human government, or, in the words of the administration, 'under legal restraint,' and were therefore, according to the wisdom of the administration, released from all obligation to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; and were at entire liberty to enslave Americans as well as other people.

"I add, that this blasphemous doctrine of the administration leaves unjustified, and utterly condemns, every war which this nation has waged; for every such war has been against a people acting under the authority of their government, or, in the language of the administration, 'under legal restraint.' What if our enemy, in fighting against us, was guilty of fighting against God—was guilty of trampling under foot the divine law? Nevertheless, according to the sage teachings of the administration, his guilt was overlaid with innocence, from the fact that he was 'acting under legal restraint.' Surely it will not be pretended that our transgressions of the divine law are excused by our 'legal restraint'; and that the like transgressions, on the part of others, cannot be excused by the like cause. Surely, if we may put in the plea of 'legal restraint' against divine laws, so may others.

"Alas, what a disgusting spectacle does the administration present in its deliberate corruption of the Bible for the guilty purpose of sparing so abominable and vile a thing as slavery! Alas, what a pitiable spectacle of self-degradation does this nation present in choosing such an administration, and in remaining patient under it! And how rank, and broad, and glaring, is the hypocrisy upon the brow of that nation, who, whilst her feet are planted on the millions she has doomed to the horrors and agonies and pollutions of slavery, holds, nevertheless, in one hand, that precious heaven-sent volume, which declares that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth'; and in the other, that emphatically American paper, which declares that 'all men are created equal!' And how greatly is the guilt of this nation, in her matchless oppressions, aggravated by the fact, that she owes infinitely more than ever did any other nation to Christianity and liberty and knowledge; and that she is, therefore, under infinitely greater obligation than was ever any other nation to set an example, blessed in all its influences, both at home and abroad! Other nations began their existence in unfavourable circumstances. They laid their foundations in despotism, and ignorance, and superstition. But Christianity, and liberty, and knowledge, waited upon the birth of this nation, and breathed into it the breath of life.

"My hour is nearly up, and I will bring my remarks to a close. After all, the administration has done us good service, in attempting to qualify the divine command, to do unto others as we would have others do unto us; for in attempting to do this, for the sake of saving slavery, it has, by irresistible implication, admitted, that the command itself requires us to 'let the oppressed go free.'

"This precious law of God contains, as they are wont to insist, ample authority for all the demands of the Abolitionists—that despised class of men, to which I am always ready to declare that I belong. Hence the administration, in quoting this law as the great rule of conduct between men, has, in no unimportant sense, joined the Abolitionists. I say it has quoted this law—this naked law. I say so, not because I forget the words with which it attempted to qualify the law, but because, inasmuch as the law, which God has made absolute, man cannot qualify, these quali-

fying words fall to the ground, and leave the naked law in all its force. I admit that the administration did not quote this law for the sake of manifesting its union with the Abolitionists; for, yet a while at least, it expects more advantage from its actual union with the slaveholders than it could expect from any possible union with the Abolitionists. No; the administration quoted this law for the sake of serving a purpose against Austria; and it flattered itself, that, by means of a few qualifying words, it could shelter slavery from the force of the quotation. But in this it fell into a great mistake. Its greater mistake, however, was in presuming to quote the Bible at all. The administration should have been aware that the Bible is a holy weapon, and is therefore fitted to anti-slavery instead of pro-slavery hands. They should have been aware that it is more dangerous for pro-slavery men to undertake to wield this weapon, than it is for children to play with edge tools. The Bible can never be used in behalf of a bad cause, without detriment to such cause.

"I conclude, Mr. Chairman, by expressing the hope, that this egregious blunder of the administration in calling the Bible to its help—a blunder, by the way, both as ludicrous and wicked as it is egregious—will, now that the blunder is exposed, be not without its good effect in the way of admonition. I trust that this pro-slavery administration, and, indeed, all pro-slavery parties and pro-slavery persons, will be effectually admonished by this blunder to let the Bible entirely alone, until they shall have some better cause than slavery to serve by it."

ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION IN CONGRESS.

THE following extracts are from leaders published in two of the principal anti-slavery newspapers in the United States: the first, from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, the organ of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*; the second, from the *National Era*, the only abolitionist journal that has currency in the South, and which is doing there a great anti-slavery work.

"The political wisacres, who flattered themselves that anti-slavery agitation had been for ever silenced by the compromises of 1850 and the triumphant election of Franklin Pierce to the Presidency, must feel their self-complacency not a little disturbed on finding that the hated question is the very first to obtrude itself into the debates of the new Congress. It comes up too, legitimately, in connection with topics introduced to the attention of that body by the very President whose election it was supposed had put a final extinguisher upon the anti-slavery sentiment of the country. The slaveholders, having once humbled the North, through the treachery of her own representatives, flatter themselves that there is now no limit to their power in any department of the Government; that they may safely demand of the President and of Congress any measures which may be necessary to the perpetuity of their darling institution. Hence their heads were never so full of schemes for the aggrandizement of slavery as at the present time. They have come up to the present Congress with such a multipli-

city of axes to be sharpened upon the national grindstone, that the subservient North, which has so long and so patiently toiled at the crank for their accommodation, is in danger of becoming rebellious at last from sheer exhaustion! The South, by improvidently following up the advantage she gained in the recent struggle, may yet provoke a contest that will reveal to her a North of a very different temperature from that which has hitherto been laid down upon the political maps. The saying of the wise man, that 'pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall,' may perchance find its most significant illustration in events soon to transpire in the history of the slave power. However that may be, one thing is certain, viz. that so long as the slaveholders compel the President to bring before Congress projects so infamous as that for paying Spanish pirates for the victims that have escaped from their toils, it will be impossible for them to stay the progress of anti-slavery agitation."

* * * * *

"Mr. Smith, in leading off upon the discussion of the President's Message, exhibited a courage for which we honour him. He disregarded the precedent by which, hitherto, new members have been constrained to observe silence until the 'old stagers' of the house have had their say. This rule may be well enough in its application to many of those who find their way to the halls of Congress, but it is manifestly absurd when applied to such a man as Mr. Smith, whose knowledge of public affairs is equal to any emergency, and whose peculiar position requires not 'a masterly inactivity,' but great boldness, promptness, and tact. Instead of following the example of Mr. Sumner, by forbearing to utter his sentiments until, by private intercourse with Southern members, he could acquire an influence over them, and satisfy them that he is neither a fanatic nor a madman, he has chosen to march boldly up to the work which he felt himself called to perform, and to command their respect by his fidelity to the cause which he professes to serve. For this the friends of freedom owe him hearty thanks, and they will not fail to see in this example of his courage and good sense a happy augury of his future career.

"The tone of Mr. Preston's reply indicates a change in the tactics of the South. The attempt to silence discussion by denunciation and threats is seen to be a failure; and hereafter we may hope that Southern members will at least endeavour to meet argument with argument, instead of violence. Those who imagined that Mr. Smith would be in danger of assassination, may now see how little ground there was for apprehending that such a tragedy would be enacted.

"Mr. Giddings's speech, like all his efforts, was timely, vigorous, and bold. His exposure of the iniquitous efforts of the slaveholders to compel the North to pay the Spanish pirates, Ruiz and Montez, for the captives of the *Amistad*, entitles him to the thanks of the friends of freedom, and we hope it may have the effect to arouse them to a sense of the importance of sending in their remonstrances against that scheme of villany and plunder.

* * * * *

[*National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Dec. 31, 1853.]

"The *New York Tribune*, commenting upon the statement that the speech of Gerrit Smith was the first anti-slavery speech ever listened to in the House of Representatives, 'without interruption or other incivilities,' remarks that the House has long been accustomed to give latitude and freedom of debate on slavery as well as all other topics.

"The truth is, from the first Congress of the United States under the Constitution, down to this hour, freedom of debate on the slavery question has been the rule in both houses, and the denial of it the exception. Let any man consult the journals of Congress, and the reports of the newspapers since 1790, and he will find, that in almost every Congress the subject of slavery has been up for discussion in some form or other; and that no attempt was ever made to suppress discussion respecting it, till Mr. Calhoun, seizing upon the revival of popular anti-slavery feeling in 1833, used it as a pretext for inflaming the people of the South, and organizing them distinctly on the slavery platform, so that, through this concentration of power, he might control, if not obtain the possession of, the administration.

"Then commenced the era of gag-law and mob-law. For the first time in the history of Congress, it was attempted by violence, trickery, usurpation, and gag resolutions, to exclude petitions on the subject of slavery, and to suppress freedom of debate. What was the result? Did the South gain any thing? Was slavery made popular and more stable? Was the Union strengthened? Was excitement allayed? Was the ordinary business of legislation promoted? Everybody knows, that just so long as that gag system was attempted to be enforced, legislation was obstructed, dire discord reigned on the floor of Congress, to enforce order was an impossibility, blackguardism was rampant, and the American Congress was constantly disgraced by scenes of violence. Not till the final repeal of the gag, as it was called, the full recognition of the right of petition, and of absolute freedom of debate, did this state of things cease. From that hour it has been true of the American Congress, that

"There is no other legislative body in the world where extreme and conflicting opinions are expressed with such freedom, or listened to with such courtesy. It is like the country at large in the recognition of each man's right to his own view, and to state his reasons for holding it, whatever they may be.

"And yet a few infatuated people deprecate such freedom of debate in Congress. They would re-impose the shackles which Congress shivered to pieces; they would restore the reign of terror, and make hostility to slavery on the part of a representative or senator a sufficient cause for treating him with contumely and violence. To this ignoble class belongs the *Richmond (Va.) Enquirer*, which denounces Mr. Preston of Kentucky, for having borne himself, in the late debate on slavery, in the House, like a gentleman:

"He not only assented to Smith's claim to recognition as a gentleman—he not only gave consequence to Smith's opinions by combating them—he not only saluted his reviler and contemner, and the reviler and contemner of his country, with the courtesy due only to the knight without reproach; but he even bore gratuitous testimony to Smith's character, and paid voluntary tribute

to the genius which he had displayed in denouncing every thing which a Southern man must prize and respect! The South will not thank Mr. Preston for this.

"Mr. Preston is a scholar, and his reading, we presume, has not been limited to the resolutions of 1798. As a slaveholder, he defended slavery with what force of argument he could command, and the courtesy of his deportment added to the impressiveness of his argument. No train of reasoning, however ingenious, can strengthen a system so utterly in conflict with the spirit of the age, the fundamental elements of our institutions, and the principles of Christianity; but the *Enquirer* may rest assured, that the course it recommends would do infinitely more damage to slavery than that pursued by the gentlemanly member from Kentucky. Anti-slavery men cannot be browbeaten or hectorated into submission. Insult will only make them defiant, it may be, contemptuous. As there must be controversy, let not personal animosity be mingled with it. The grace of courtesy, as displayed by Mr. Smith and Mr. Preston, must always tend to allay the bitterness of strife, if it does not remove its causes."—*National Era*, Jan. 15, 1854.

PIETY EXTRAORDINARY.

We clip the following from a recent number of the *Saturday Visitor*. It presents a curious illustration of the manner in which a familiarity with slavery blunts the moral perceptions, and of the anomalous position into which it betrays its advocates. The editorial remarks—which, we conclude, are from the pen of Mrs. Jane Swisshelm—are written in an amusing style of banter, but their irony is severe to a degree.

"We find this week, amongst our exchanges, the *Weekly Message*, published at Greensborough, North Carolina, by 'Frances M. Bumpass, proprietress.' To us, who are but a very indifferent kind of Christian, its piety is most refreshing; and as we have sadly neglected the spiritual welfare of our readers, we conclude, as some atonement, to give them the benefit of a few extracts.

"In the first column the *editress* says:

"THE WEEKLY MESSAGE.

"We rejoice to say that the third volume of this paper has commenced with bright prospects. Upwards of six hundred subscribers, we think, have been added to our list this year, "and still they come."

"Thankful for the favours of the past, we are looking to Him who "has all hearts in his hands," and who says, "according to your faith, so be it unto you," for its increasing prosperity. He raised it up for His glory, has carried it on for His glory, and will doubtless continue it for the same. Let us and all its friends, by diligence and earnest prayer and unwavering faith, call down greater blessings on this little instrument for good. For without the blessings of our Father "we nothing good can do;" but, feeble as we are, "we can do all things through Christ strengthening us."

"In the second one she adds:

"PRAY FOR US.

"Brothers and Sisters—Feeling our helplessness, and knowing that without divine assistance all efforts are vain, and that "our kind Father is able and willing to do exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think," we sincerely desire an interest in your prayers, that we may be enabled to conduct this paper just according to His will, and that His rich blessing may accompany it wherever it goes, and make it an instrument of great good, and bless the truths which it contains to the salvation of many thousand of souls. Let us ask much, knowing that our Father delights in pouring out great blessings, and is only hindered from doing many mighty works in our midst by our unbelief, and continually says to us, "According to your faith."

"The third page is taken up with a communication, headed, 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' Another, 'The Lord doeth all things well,' and an exorcism on Popery.

"And on the next page is the following advertisement:



"NOTICE.—FIVE CENTS REWARD.

"LEFT my Office, Thursday morning last, Stephen Osborn, an apprentice boy. I hereby forewarn all persons from harbouring or trading with him, under the penalty of the law.

"The above reward and no thanks will be given for his discovery to me.

"FRANCES BUMPASS."

"Greensboro', N. C., Dec. 6th, 1853."



"ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

"RAN away from the subscriber, in Dec. last, a Negro boy, named Elias. Belonging to Abner Coltrain, of Randolph Co., N. C.

"This boy is a bright Mulatto, a little under six feet high, a round full face, has some freckles on his face, well featured, one of his thumbs disfigured, his feet is not flat like most negroes. He may be lurking somewhere in this county, or he may have run clear off.

"Any person who will take the said boy up, and safely place him in jail, so I get him, or bring the said boy to me, or to the Printer of the *Message* in Greensboro', N. C., the above reward will be given.

"ABNER COLTRAIN."

"Randolph Co., N. C., July 1st, 1853."

"It must be very nice to have the subscription business of a paper attended to in heaven. If the cash accounts are kept there, we should like to see what kind of an entry the recording angel will make of the one hundred dollars received for catching a runaway 'nigger,' and the five cents paid out by the lady editor for the delivery to her of her white runaway.

"Some time ago, as an offset against Southern slavery, Mrs. Prewett, of the *Yazoo Whig*, re-

minded us of a similar reward of five cents offered by a Northern paper for an apprentice, and her sympathy was very much moved for the boy thus publicly proscribed: but by this it appears that Southern oppression is not limited to dark skins. A pious Southern lady editor not only catches black slaves, but white ones, and asks the prayers of the saints for 'divine assistance' in carrying on the operation.

"Wonder whether a pack of bloodhounds or a batch of prayers would avail most in earning that hundred dollars, and how much grace it requires to catch a 'nigger,' or to muster five cents to consign a little Stephen Osborn to the demoralizing influences of a branded and outlawed youth."

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE following have been received since our last list, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged.

	Donations.	Subscript.
London.—Harris, Frederick, ..	1	1 0
Holden, J. D.	1	1 0
Sterry, Joseph	2	2 0
Sterry, Joseph, Jun.	1	1 0
Tuckett, Frederick, 1	0	0
A Friend, per H. Sterry	1	0 0
Birmingham.—Sturge, J.	50	0 0
Cheltenham.—Capper, Mrs.	1	1 0
Ball, Mrs.	1	1 0
Clutterbuck, Miss	0	10 0
Cumming, Mrs.	1	1 0
Cumming, Miss M. A.	1	1 0
Yerbury, Miss	1	1 0
Worcester.—Brewin, E.	1	0 0
Cirencester Auxiliary	6	0 0
Rochester.—Tatum, W.	1	10 0
Exeter.—Hutcheson, R.	1	0 0
Chesham.—Pryor, Elizabeth	1	1 0
Gisborough.—Coning, Ann	1	0 0
Bridgewater.—Steinthal, Rev. A.	1	0 0
Chelmsford.—Ladies' Aux.	2	0 0
Brighton.—Boys, Jacob	1	1 0
Helston Auxiliary	1	5 0
Blackburn.—Kinsman, J.G.	0	5 0
Edinburgh.—Cruickshank, E.	0	5 0
Aberdeen.—Barclay, L. A.	1	0 0
Irving, Miss	0	5 0
Stirling, Sarah	0	5 0
Wigham, Mary	0	10 0
Wigham, B.	0	5 0
Glenny, Eliz.	0	5 0
Parker, S.	0	5 0
Macallan, Eliza	0	5 0
Cruickshank, A.	0	5 0
Glenny, Kath.	0	5 0
Robb, Mary	0	5 0
Thompson, J.	0	2 6
Sterling, Rev. J.	0	10 0
Wigham, A.	0	10 0
Belfast.—Calder, F. A.	0	6 0

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London: W. AND F. G. CASH, 5, Bishopsgate Without: CLARKE, BEETON, AND Co., 148, Fleet Street.